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AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES AND EDUCATION.

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE.

SOONER or later every experience must disclose its value in vital education; if it has no educational value, it does not count. One of the chief uses of the crises through which individuals and nations are constantly passing is the light they throw on those organized ideas which constitute individual and national character. When a man is in the full tide of activity, putting forth his entire strength in the management of a great range of interests, neither he nor those who look at his career are aware at every moment of his interior aims; those ideas at the very centre of his life which dominate him and shape his career among men. In like manner, when national activity is running with tidal force and volume, those ideas which lie in the heart of the nation and which are organized into its political character are often invisible for long periods of time. No one thinks of them save the philosophical observer of life; the nation is not aware of them. But when this tremendous energy is arrested by some great crisis, when in mid career of action a nation's character is challenged by some searching experience, the ideas which lie in its heart are suddenly struck into light. When these critical experiences come to a nation and call a halt in the midday of its activity, suddenly the things which it believes in its heart rise into its consciousness and become clear to the whole world.

Now, these fundamental ideas, these formative convictions which are the roots of character, are the deposit of education in its large sense. They are the product of that silent process by which institutions, inherited faiths, political traditions, formal training and physical circumstances are distilled into a few fixed habits, a few organizing ideas of life. The English-speaking races are holding their places and doing their work in the world

to-day by virtue of their political education; they are everywhere the representatives of that full development of individuality, that free play of personality, which involve definiteness of aim, concentration of will, courage adequate to all emergencies, and the power of standing alone, and, if necessary, dying alone at the place where one's work is to be done. This is the reaction on character of a form of government and a body of political institutions which have constituted for many centuries a school of popular education, political in form, but vital in essence. This education has been the result of the working out of certain rational ideas, modified by physical surroundings and historical conditions. No attempt has ever yet been made on an adequate scale to definitely shape by educational processes the development of national character; that character is, nevertheless, the product of education, and that which is the product of education may be definitely modified by educational methods which shall be intentional and conscious, rather than purely instinctive. It is a matter of secondary importance whether one political policy or another prevails. What happens to a man of strong character is always of less moment than that which happens within him; what happens *to* a powerful race is of little moment to that which happens *within* the race. If right and adequate ideas of life can be planted in the character of a people, their progress in any given decade may be advanced or retarded by the adoption or rejection of certain policies, but their destiny is determined.

The life of a great people is both inward and outward. It is a life of the spirit, and it is a life of action; and the greatness of a race is determined by the depth and volume of its life in the spirit and the adequacy of its action to express that life. There is in the heart of every race a group of ideas which may be called ideals, since they express the passions, the faiths and the aspirations of the people. There is also in the same race a power of action, an executive ability, a skill in doing; and the real national problem is the co-ordination of those two sides of life; the side of ideas and the side of action. We live in our ideas; we express our ideas by the things we do.

Now, the executive side of national life is affected chiefly by formal education, by specific training; and the efficient races are the races whose education not only gives them sustained power and concentration of will, but also adequate skill in dealing with

practical matters. Desmoulins, who has studied the question of English efficiency from the standpoint of an intelligent and open-minded Frenchman, has discovered the secret of the immense executive force of the English race in the education of the will which takes place in the English home and the English school; the steady training of the boy to stand on his own feet, to find his strength within himself, to use his resources in a crisis with cool self-command, and to be able to hold his own, if need be, in isolated and solitary strength. It is this training, developing the highest force of individuality, which enables the Englishman to live under conditions which are almost fatal to the Frenchman; to spend long months together in solitude, to overcome the homesickness to which the Frenchman falls a victim, to resist the morbidness which comes from isolation in lonely and remote places, and to keep physical and moral health in long separation from the wholesome tonic of social relations. English ideals have worked down through the race into the individual, and are worked out through the individual wherever the opportunity offers. Englishmen in responsible positions often make blunders, but they rarely succumb to difficulties. They invariably put up a brave fight, and if they are beaten, it is not for lack of courage. The German is more thoroughly trained than the Englishman; he commands more kinds of skill, he represents a more systematic education; he is, in fact, the most thoroughly trained man in the modern world. So far, however, he has lacked the individual initiative of the Englishman because his political life has not developed his personality to its full extent; but the long subjectivity of Germany is fast being translated into a most efficient objectivity, and the German is to-day the foremost commercial competitor of the American and the Englishman. These three races are the active organizers and leaders of modern civilization in the Western world because they most thoroughly harmonize adequate ideas with adequate skill in execution. So far the Slav, with all his force, has not impressed himself on Western Europe. He has followed the lines of least resistance to the South and the East; he is practically an unknown factor so far as his ultimate race development is concerned.

Important as is this executive skill, this trained intelligence in practical affairs, it is secondary, not only in time, but in dignity and value, to those ideas or ideals of which it is the expres-

sion. These are the real springs of a nation's energy and vitality, the real sources of its power; if these are deep and adequate, there is practically no limit to the outgo of its energy and the expansion of its influence. Every great people which has finished its career has passed through a period of great intensity of action; but after a time the vital tide has ebbed, and then, in every case, the quality and depth of the organizing ideas behind it have become visible. The emergence of these ideas into the light has disclosed the secrets of its power or its weakness. Sooner or later in the ebb and flow of national life, surface activity wears out and leaves the structure bare; this structure is the product of education. Few things are more striking in history than the disparity between Roman energy and Roman ideality. This masterful race had immense force, and put it forth during a long period of time with irresistible intensity and momentum; but there were no adequate ideas of life behind this force, and after the flood of energy had spent itself there were no deep fountains from which new streams could issue; there were no fundamental ideas from which a new civilization could be evolved. The Roman mastered the world and held it in his hands, but he did not know what to do with it; and so he remains, first, a masterful figure, then an impotent wielder of forces which he did not understand. There is no more tragic anti-climax than this swift and splendid grasping of all the resources of life, followed by complete failure to understand or use them. The secret of the material strength and the spiritual weakness, of the disparity between executive force and ideas, is to be found in the Roman education.

The peril of a country which has depth of idea, but inadequate grasp of reality, may be nobler, but it is not less real than that of the country which has a deep sense of reality, but inadequate spiritual conceptions. A nation of pure idealists would miss that final truth which comes as the fruit of action, that deep and mastered truth which is gained only through experience; for action instantly reacts on character, modifies ideas, makes them more definite and grounds them more deeply. Peoples who have chiefly executive energy are forces without depth or direction; peoples who have only ideas are dreamers whose ideas never become fruitful and dominant.

Along both these great lines—formative ideas and executive

efficiency—education is the shaping, if not the creating, force. It is due to a lack of education that we are still perplexed and distressed by the elementary problems of politics, by the existence of wrong and abuses which belong to rudimentary political conditions. Whenever the political education of the country, expressed both in ideas and in executive force, is adequate, machines and machinists in public affairs will cease to be; they cannot exist in a really intelligent atmosphere; they exist to-day solely because so many American citizens are half educated politically. But education in this country is more than a question of political efficiency; the justification of democracy is involved in it. Democratic government is distinctly the most expensive in the world; expensive not only in money, but in the work which is required to give it the highest degree of purity and efficiency. It is neither so immediately effective, as an organized administrative force, as that which governs Germany, nor can it be conducted at so small an expense. If democracy were to be judged solely by the efficiency of its administrative work and from the standpoint of economy, it would fail to justify itself; its justification must be sought for on other grounds. It is the safest of all governments because its foundation is as broad as society itself. Nobody stands outside the circle of its privilege and responsibilities; no man is interested in tearing it down because it does not belong to him; every man is interested in securing the largest personal influence under it, because if he can command sufficient influence he can modify its action. Politically the whole field is open. In the long run, democracy must find its justification in the fact that it takes everybody into partnership, and that, by the equal distribution of its privileges and responsibilities, it puts forth an educational force of the most searching and permanent kind. Any form of government which trains its citizens to respect themselves and others, to guard their own rights and the rights of others, and so transfers authority from an external order to an interior principle, rests on immovable foundations, and justifies greater cost and care.

Unlike other modern peoples, we began with a great accumulation of educational results and forces. In other countries universities have come comparatively late. The first companies of colonizers who planted the seeds of civilization and laid the foundation of the State on this continent included not only men of

gentle breeding, but of university training. The scholar has been here almost as long as the explorer; he came with the earliest trader, and if he has not kept pace in his influence with the man of commerce, it has not been because he has lacked the opportunity. Colleges are older than our national life—almost as old as our colonial life. Harvard was founded in 1636, William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701, Princeton in 1746; thus along the seaboard, where the old world touched the new for the first time and the points of connection were made, there was a line of colleges from which, in the earliest days, the struggling young communities were fed with men of light and leading. No country in its original organization has ever made such free use of the experiences of other countries; our political system is based on the ripe experience of the whole world prior to 1776. If the generalizations of the Declaration of Independence could be traced back to their sources, we should find that not only France, Holland and England made contributions to that document, but Greece, Rome, Judea and Egypt as well. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution contain the purest and most condensed material of political wisdom, formulated first into a declaration of principles and then into a working governmental system, which men have ever had the opportunity of organizing into a new system at a single stroke. No other people has ever owed so much to its predecessors and to humanity at large as ourselves: the Greek, the Roman, the Jew, the Frenchman, the Dutchman and the Englishman have all worked, thought, suffered, legislated and acted for our benefit, and we have entered into the fruits of their labors. Other countries began at the foundation and shaped their systems under the pressure of the tremendous experience of national life; we quietly built on foundations which others had laid for us. We are what we are in our political structure and character because we have taken our political ideas from the life of the race; and we have had the freest and widest national education because we have had the opportunity of going to school to all the older races.

We are what we are as a nation largely because we have taken our political education from the experience of the entire race, and we have had the freest and widest national education because we have come so late into history that we have been able to take advantage of all that has gone before. What the value of these

large relationships is comes out very clearly when we look at the course of vital education in the past. That education has been dependent solely on the intercourse of man with man; the isolated and detached man could go but a very little way in his training; no matter how vigorous his will, or how fine his intellectual equipment, he began to learn in a large way only when he touched his fellow. In the order of development out of savage individuality into the social life of civilization men seem to have passed first through the family consciousness; and the isolated family of the savage age was the dame school in which the race in its infancy learned its earliest lessons. Then came the time when it passed out of the dame school into the primary school by passing out of the family association into the clan association; the individual member of the savage family entering into the clan consciousness and multiplying himself by sharing the experiences of a larger group of lives. When the clan has done its work in fitting men into larger relationships, teaching them more complete self-control and broadening their ideas with the broadening of their interests and associations, the clan expanded into the nation, which became the secondary school of the race, taking men out from the narrow interests of the clan into the manifold interests and relationships of the nation. And now, after centuries of expanding life, the nation seems to have reached its full development, and there comes another and greater era—the age of international action, when the highest unit in society ceases to be the nation and becomes the race; that inclusive and final unity in which all nations are to be included, and by the slow pressure of which all national interests are some day to be harmonized. And the race enters on the university period in its education.

It is this extraordinary movement which has come suddenly home to the consciousness of all intelligent peoples during the past three or four years, and is bringing home to us in a new way and with immense force our urgent need of the most thorough education in all fields of endeavor. Heretofore we have had our own problems to solve; now we are compelled to take up the burden of solving the problems of civilization. These problems we cannot escape: they do not come to us through what is called imperialism or territorial expansion; they come through the inevitable growth of our own interests; the coming together of

paces through increased and more rapid facilities of intercourse, through multiplying trade relations, and by means of a thousand ties, spiritual, intellectual and social, which are being created by the circumstances of modern life. However we may feel about the question of territorial expansion, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the whole world is akin, and that whether we like it or not, we are coming constantly into greater intimacy with our neighbors and our benefactors, the older nations of the world. This higher unity which is being slowly worked out has long been foreseen by poets and prophets and sometimes by statesmen. Its realization is still in the distant future, but the tendencies which make for it and the movements which mark its direction are so clear that even the wayfaring man cannot overlook them. Toward this new unity civilized men are steadily advancing; they are drawn together in spite of themselves. It is idle to strive to keep out of the stream, for the stream is the great current of historical evolution, the movement of which has a tidal volume and power. The evolution from the unity of the family to the unity of the race will not pause till it has been perfectly worked out; and there are many who have known something of the peculiar conditions of opinion in this country during the last ten years who are ready to say: "Better a thousand times the perils of intimacy with other nations and with the race at large than the perils of isolation or of detachment from the race at large."

No man knows where he stands or what his life means till he knows the relative positions of other men, and what they are and have done. No nation understands its own strength or weakness, or can bring its ideals into clear consciousness, till it comprehends something of its historical relationships and knows what work other nations have accomplished and what point of development they have reached; for the true measure of the unfolding of the national genius and the working out of national power is the quality and magnitude of the contribution which the nation makes to humanity. That contribution may be either material, intellectual or spiritual, but nothing counts in the long run in national activity which does not mean something for the benefit of other races. The great races are those whose national life has been translatable to the greatest extent into terms of racial service; for this reason the Jew, the Greek, the Roman and the

Italian stand out pre-eminently as the leaders and teachers of civilization. The record of what they did fills our histories, and the memory of what they were stirs our imaginations. They stand, not for mere accumulation, nor for the things which **are** made with the hands and counted in numerals, but for the supreme achievements of the mind and the soul; they stand for religion, morality, art, political organization—in a word, for civilization. Each nation developed its own gift, brought its own character to a certain maturity, and then each shared that which it had produced and created—its most sacred and spiritual possession—with other races. The fact that the value of the racial product and the racial life is determined by their serviceableness in the development of the life of the race is a matter of profound significance, now that all nations are drifting together, or at least are being brought into such relations that they are forced to consider one another's interests and to take account of one another's strength. The unity of the race as a definite working basis for the reorganization of society is still a long way in advance; but that unity has ceased to be the ideal of men with the prophetic sense—it is becoming a matter which the diplomatists must take into account, and the politicians must consider, because it is the shaping fact in the foreign relations of every great nation; it marks the gradual, irregular but definite transference of the conception of racial unity from the region of pure thought into that of action; and a century hence it will probably be recognized as the most majestic movement of to-day. The men who strive against it do not see its immense moral implications; it is the sublimest opportunity of modern history. The fact that it is possible to discuss seriously, and with a deepening sense of its practicability, a larger unity of action between all the English-speaking peoples for the furtherance of the higher aims of civilization has not failed to touch the imagination and to awaken the enthusiasm of all those who have any generosity of spirit. But no sooner had we begun to talk about the union of the English-speaking races than we realized that the synthesis was too small; there were other factors to be included. We retraced one stage in the great emigration of the English-speaking peoples and we found ourselves on English soil; but having retraced one stage, it was impossible not to retrace the earlier stage, and we are carried in thought from the ripe and beautiful land-

scape of England to the shores of the Baltic; and the unity of the English-speaking peoples foreshadows and prophesies the unity of all men of Germanic origin. That idea is in the air to-day; more than this, it is in the thought and imagination of many serious-minded people; it has taken root and it will bear fruit because the great forces of racial, religious and intellectual traditions are co-operating with it.

But it is safe to predict that when these three nations have come to understand one another well enough to outgrow their small jealousies, which are always the fruits of ignorance, and which evaporate like the mist in the shining of larger and clearer knowledge, they will feel the need of the special qualities and services of the Latin genius and character, for, whatever may be the strength of the civilization which has its roots in Northern Europe, and which has come, by reason of its development of individuality, to hold such a great place in modern society, it is quite certain that the graces of life, the resources of a developed social nature, and the ministrations of the art instinct of the Latin races cannot be spared from an adequate conception of what the life of the modern world must and ought to be. We shall never stop with the union of the races of Germanic origin, nor shall we stop with a union of races which shall include the Germanic and Latin families; the Slav must still be reckoned with, and his literature and his history show that there is in his spirit a force which the Latin and the Germanic races need.

Nor will this great historical evolution pause till it has gone a step farther and reunited the East and the West. Nothing appeals to the imagination with such power, or seems to carry so much of prophecy with it, as the reappearance of the East in the interest and thought of the world. It is not too much to say that the centre of that thought to-day is in the Orient, where, apparently, the decisive questions of the next fifty years are to be asked and answered; where all the great nations are face to face, not only with the most perplexing questions, but with one another, in a competition which may be called selfish, and which certainly has elements of pure commercialism or pure militarism in it, but which is, after all, at bottom a new stage in the evolution of the common human life of the different races. It looks now as if the East were to be recognized under Western direction; and one does not need too much faith in human nature to

believe that reorganization is to carry to the East a larger freedom than the East has ever known in its history; for, through the rough methods of national action, and intermingled with policies which are often narrow and sordid, there run lines of influence which transcend the purposes of politicians and statesmen, and even the generous purposes of generous peoples. It is in Asia Minor, India, China, Korea and Japan that the most striking, picturesque, and perhaps the most influential acts in the drama of the world's life on the stage of the twentieth century are to be set; and as out of the East came the earliest civilization in all its forms, so in the East the fruits of the long education of history, as they have been gathered by the Western races, are likely to be revealed in their interior spirit and their ultimate effect. As the boy reveals the deepest impress of education, not at the college or the university, or in the professional school, but in the active work of life, when he is compelled to put forth instead of receiving, so the great races are likely to disclose most clearly what lies in their own deepest consciousness when they are called on at a distance and under new conditions to deal again, in the lives of other races, with the problems which they have solved or partially solved at home.

From many points of view, the re-entrance of the East as the chief actor on the great world's stage strikes home to the imagination, and opens a vista in which no change seems too vast to be credible, and no reorganization of society too radical to come to pass. The reunion of the East and West means the completion of the circle of historic life; it marks the return of the race, after the long wanderings which constitute history from the date of the first migrations, to its earliest home, where it first dreamed the great dreams of human destiny. Ten years ago this would have seemed like a vision, though even then its realization would have evolved changes less radical and of lesser magnitude than those already accomplished and soberly recorded by historians. To-day it is no longer a matter of vision; it is taking place under our very eyes. It is idle to contend against such a movement; it is worse than idle to protest against it and say that it ought to be checked. Men have as little to do with it as they have with the movement of a great natural force; it is simply the evolution of the energy of the races, and it is a new stage in historical development. It has been brought about,

not by intention, by the foresight of statesmen or by the greed of traders, but by an accumulation first of vital and then of historic force. There will be profit in it, and there is no harm in the profit, if profit be not its ultimate result, or if other and higher things are not sacrificed to profit; but there will be something better than profit in it; there will be safety. If it be true that the broader the base of a government and the more inclusive its citizenship the more stable the government, it is also true that the more inclusive the organizing unit of society, the more catholic the sympathies of the race, and the more universal its interests, the greater will be the chances of peace and the opportunities of spiritual growth. With every broadening of national activity comes a broadening of national experience, and that means not only the possibility, but the necessity of getting out of ourselves into the life of others. Nothing steadies a man so much as the pressure of great and noble interests; nothing keeps a man in such sanity and poise as the wide outlook which comes from contact with many and important affairs; nothing steadies a nation so much as great and weighty responsibilities; interests which are not limited by national boundary lines, but which are world-wide. This world process, like the individual process, is fundamentally educational.

It is significant that education can never be completed or perfected at home; one has to go away for it; and one of the most beautiful things in experience is the return of the boy from long absences at school, college and university, with a new and deeper reverence for his home, and a finer and more intelligent devotion to it. It is by going abroad in the large sense that men are educated. To stay at home is to gain a certain directness, vigor and independence, but it is to miss the larger vision, to lose the deeper insight, to be out of touch with the influences which enrich and liberate. The history of great races is a history of travel; it is a story of exploration, colonization, search and adventure. It is the story of the men who go away poor and come back rich; the story of those who take their lives in their hands for the sake of pushing back the horizons of knowledge, of touching the remote regions of the world and opening them up, bringing home with them some remote and hitherto inaccessible knowledge. The great races are always enriching themselves by searching the world for the things which make for enlightenment and power.

The secret of genius, as illustrated in every art, is to seize with absolute clearness of vision and to represent with absolute fidelity the concrete, close-at-hand, familiar thing, and then, by the magic of insight and of expression, to disclose in this intimate, familiar, close-at-hand thing a universal principle or experience. So the great painter gives us a portrait which is instinct with life to the very last detail of feature and dress, and the man stands before us, as real, as actual and as clearly realized as if we saw him erect and breathing before us; and yet in the very perfection of his individuality, by the genius of the artist, this man becomes a type to us, and we escape through his personality into a comprehension of a great group of human beings. In like manner a people must realize their own character, do their own work, live on their own soil as if they were alone in the world; and then, by a process as inevitable as it is normal, they must enter into the life of humanity, associate themselves most intimately with other races, share in the work of the world, and find their places as contributors to civilization. Self-realization comes only through action on material outside of one's self; and national ideals and governing forces do not rise clearly into the consciousness till they are put forth, in large measure, outside the immediate sphere of national life. Matthew Arnold has said that the judgment of foreigners on works of literature is the nearest approach which we can make to the judgment of posterity. The judgment of the institutions and civilization of a nation by foreigners is often warped by prejudice and limited by ignorance; but, under the worst conditions, there is always a certain amount of truth in it, and under conditions which are growing better every day foreign opinion must possess greater and greater value; as it is based on disinterestedness, it will gain in insight and authority. The influence and action of a nation on the world at large is a reflection of its character, caught in a vast mirror, and discernible for the first time by the nation which casts it; so that one of the greatest benefits which the world is likely to receive as the result of the new spirit of internationalism will be a clearer discernment by each people of its own genius, and a clearer recognition of its own defects.

The supreme test of a man comes when he goes into the world and matches himself against the field, not in a spirit of antagonism, but in the inevitable and wholesome struggle to make his

place and do his work; his place and his work are not to be seized by violent hands or held by brute force; they are exactly determined by his own strength and quality. The supreme test of a nation comes, not when it is struggling against manifold domestic difficulties to gain form and vigor, but when, having freely developed its force and planted itself firmly on elemental principles, it enters the large field of the world, finds itself in the competition of the races, and subjected to that searching and rigorous testing which goes on when diverse principles or methods of action are placed side by side; for the application of the law of selection is as rigid here as it is anywhere in the life of the race or the history of the globe. In the earlier stages of historic evolution, the immediate and the chief end of the movement of the period seemed to be to bring the nation as an organic force to perfection; that was as far as antiquity could go. When a nation was fully organized and highly differentiated from other nations, its destiny seemed to be fulfilled, and disorganization and decline began. It is true that the story of civilization is the passing on of the torch from one hand to another, each nation borrowing from every other nation; but the work of the older races was largely the development of the national idea, the national form, and it seemed impossible for the older nations, as nations, to take the next step; their influence could be diffused throughout the world only when the organic form out of which it issued and through which it expressed itself was shattered. Egypt was in decline when she became the teacher of antiquity; the independence of Greece was destroyed before the spirit of the Greek genius was liberated to make the conquest of the world. Demosthenes, standing for the pure principle of autonomy, contended against the inevitable when he made his splendid protest against Philip; but, in the loss of her autonomy, Athens gained an ascendancy which no other city except Jerusalem has ever held. Dissolution went before diffusion. It seemed as if the older nations had to die in giving birth to those great ideas with which they have enriched the world.

The significance of our age lies in the fact that the principle of nationality has now been so thoroughly developed, and has so deep a rootage in historic conditions, has become so much a part of the life of many peoples, and has passed so completely from a formal into a vital force, that it is possible to take the

step from the national to the international unity, without loss of national individuality, vitality, energy or quality. The decline of the ruling races of the older civilization was contemporaneous with the diffusion of their racial spirit; the Jew, the Greek and the Roman dividing the spiritual and intellectual government of the world at the very moment when political power was slipping out of their hands forever. The modern movement, on the other hand, is characterized by the higher development of nationality through contact with other races and diffusion of the racial ideals. The race which cannot bear the test of meeting other races in the free field of the modern world ought to go to the wall; for the lower civilization must yield to the higher by a beneficent law, and the best types of civilization and the best forms of government are to survive, and they alone.

This is the test which every modern race must meet. It is not a question of physical strength, as it would have been at any other period; it is a question of intellectual capacity and of spiritual force: ideas are to have freer play through the world than ever before. The spirit which would take America out of this competition, keep her out of the world-field, has its rise either in ignorance or in fear. A great many Americans are still smitten with that kind of provincialism which finds safety in holding aloof from one's neighbors and prosperity in attending exclusively to one's own business; but the business of the world is our business, family ties between the races are coming more and more to light. It is impossible to keep any section of a city in health if in one neglected quarter disease is bred and started on its fatal course; it is impossible to keep the modern world wholesome if the conditions attending the pilgrimages to Mecca still breed cholera at recurrent periods, or if sanitary conditions in Bombay and Calcutta revive the black death, the scourge of the Middle Ages. We shall keep our freedom not by hoarding it, but by using it; we shall preserve the integrity of our own national ideals, not by trying to build walls around them on this continent, but by holding them boldly before the whole world. Nothing could be more shortsighted than the attempt to set America against Europe; to give Americans a sense of the value of their own institutions by decrying and misrepresenting social and political conditions abroad. American conceptions of government and social order are ranged in radical antagonism to

some governmental systems on the other side of the Atlantic; but even in cases in which the difference is widest there is something for us to learn and there is nothing for us to fear from a more familiar association. We reject absolutely the underlying conception of the German Government, but the German Government has many things to teach us in efficiency, economy and intelligence, so far as administration is concerned. We have much to learn from Germany in the ability to call trained men into the public service; to place everywhere in any critical moment a man who can be trusted, not only to be honest, but to be capable. England has many things to teach us. It will indicate greater confidence in our own institutions when we give up boasting and are willing to go to school to any people who can teach us.

With the peoples of Europe we are in the deepest sympathy; under many governmental forms, in different stages of political education, they, like ourselves, are working out that common human problem the solution of which is the ultimate purpose and hope of civilization. There as here the tides of vital energy and many-sided activity are running with immense volume and momentum. Since the Renaissance there has not been such a liberation of spiritual and natural force. The fortunes of the race are once more at stake; the welfare of the race is on the cast. In this great arena we are forced to disclose our ideas in the searching light of action. *To Americans no conquests are possible save those which are won by superiority of ideas.* Ideas are the feeding springs of adequate action; action is the translation of ideas out of the world of the ideal into the world of the actual; these are the inevitable processes to which we must submit ourselves; and alike for the spirit and the hand, for the forces which inspire and the forces which shape and direct, education is the supreme necessity. In our new as in the old world, the highest prizes of life are within reach of the trained man alone; and in the great open field of the modern world the future belongs to the trained races.

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